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The Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference on Child Labor Under the Auspices of the National Child Labor Committee

Birmingham, Ala., March 10, 11, 12, 1911.

The first annual conference of this committee was held in New York City, February 14 to 16, 1905. The second was held in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1905, with supplementary sessions in Philadelphia and Chicago; the third, in Cincinnati, December 13 to 15, 1906; the fourth in Atlanta, April 2 to 5, 1908; the fifth in Chicago, January 21 to 23, 1909, and the sixth in Boston, January 13 to 16, 1910.

At the seventh annual conference held in Birmingham, Ala., by invitation of the Alabama Child Labor Committee and the civic bodies of Birmingham, March 9 to 12, the following program was carried out:

GENERAL TOPIC: UNIFORM CHILD LABOR LAWS.

I. Thursday Afternoon, March 9, 2.30 o'clock.

Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman, Alabama Child Labor Committee, presiding. Address, "History of Child Labor Reform in Alabama."

Address of Welcome, Judge N. B. Feagin, on behalf of Hon. Culpepper Exum, Mayor of Birmingham.

Response, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

Reports from the field:

"Child Labor Legislation in the Carolinas," John Porter Hollis, Rock Hill, S. C.

"New Territory," A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.

"The Forward Movement in Missouri, West Virginia and Indiana," E. N. Clopper, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"The Coal Mines of Pennsylvania," Owen R. Lovejoy, New York.

II. Thursday Evening, March 9, 8 o'clock.

Senator Joseph F. Johnston, Alabama, presiding.

UNIFORMITY IN CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

"The State and the Nation in Child Labor Regulation," Senator William E. Borah, Idaho.

"The Cotton Mill; The Herod Among Industries," Dr. A. J. McKel-

way, Washington, Secretary for Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

"What Should We Sacrifice to Uniformity?" Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York.

"Seven Years of Child Labor Reform," Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

III. Friday Morning, March 10, 9.30 o'clock.

SECTION I.

Edward N. Clopper, Secretary for Ohio Valley States, presiding.

CHILD LABOR IN STREETS AND PUBLIC PLACES.

Ten minute addresses:

"The Nickel Theatre," Maurice Willows, Boys' Club, Birmingham.

"The Newsboy," George A. Hall, Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee.

"Street Trades and Reformatories," Richard K. Conant, Boston, Secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee.

"The Night Messenger Boy," Edward N. Clopper.

Discussion.

SECTION II.

Judge N. B. Feagin, Birmingham, presiding.

POVERTY AND PARENTAL DEPENDENCE IN RELATION TO CHILD LABOR REFORM.

"Scholarships," Frances Ingram, Neighborhood House, Louisville, Ky.; George A. Hall, New York City.

"State Child Labor Relief," M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, O.

"The Dinner Toter," Charles L. Coon, Secretary, North Carolina Child Labor Committee, Wilson, N. C.

IV. Friday, March 10, Noon.

IN THE PUBLIC PARK.

Brief Address by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

V. Friday, March 10, 1 o'clock.

BUSINESS MEN'S LUNCH.

Lunch at Hotel Hillman by the Business Men of Birmingham, in honor of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and other distinguished speakers present at the conference, Mayor Exum presiding. Topic for discussion: "Child Labor in the South." Speakers: Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Hon. B. B. Comer and Rev. John W. Stagg, D.D.

VI. Friday Afternoon, March 10, 4 to 6 o'clock.

Reception by the Women's Clubs of Birmingham to delegates and guests of the Conference, at the Country Club, preceded by a luncheon to the women delegates.

VII. Friday Evening, March 10, 8 o'clock.

CONSERVATION OF CHILDHOOD.

Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, presiding.

"The Conservation of Childhood," Col. Theodore Roosevelt.

"The Public School and the Day's Work," Dean Herman Schneider, University of Cincinnati, O.

"Exclusion of Children from Dangerous Trades," (Stereopticon address), Dr. William C. Hanson, Massachusetts Board of Health, Boston.

"Types of Working Children," (Stereopticon address), Dr. A. J. McKelway.

VIII. Saturday Morning, March 11, 9.30 o'clock.

SECTION I.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, presiding.

A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE SOUTH.

Reports from State and local committees and affiliated bodies.

"Child Labor in Gulf Coast Canneries," Lewis W. Hine, Staff Photographer, National Child Labor Committee.

General Discussion.

SECTION II.

UNIFORM CHILD LABOR LAWS.

"Standards Proposed by United States Commission on Uniform Laws," Hon. A. T. Stovall, Okolona, Miss.

Discussion, "Disadvantages Due to Varying Standards," led by Jean M. Gordon, State Factory Inspector, Louisiana.

IX. Saturday Evening, March 11, 8 o'clock.

Solomon Wolff, Esq., New Orleans, Chairman Louisiana Child Labor Committee, presiding.

CHILD LABOR ON THE STAGE.

Addresses by:

Dr. Henry B. Favill, Chicago, Ill.
Jean M. Gordon, New Orleans, La.
Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York.

X. Sunday Afternoon, March 12, 3 o'clock.

Dr. J. H. Phillips, Superintendent of Schools, Birmingham, presiding.
Annual address by Dr. Felix Adler, Founder of the Society for Ethical Culture and Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

"Ten Years' Experience in Illinois," Jane Addams.

Sunday morning and evening, March 12, Child labor addresses delivered by pastors and delegates in the churches of Birmingham and vicinity.

FIRST SESSION.

Judge N. B. Feagin, a member of the National Child Labor Committee, welcomed the Conference, on behalf of the Mayor of Birmingham. He said:

"I am commissioned by our mayor to welcome you to the city of Birmingham, open wide her gates to greet you, and to give you not only the key of the city, but also the keys of our hearts and our homes, to vouchsafe to you a right royal Southern welcome.

"We bid you a more hearty welcome from the fact that you come to us, a great industrial community, with the highest and holiest message that philanthropy has given to humanity in the twentieth century, namely: 'Save, preserve, protect by law the child life of the state.'

"This message is worthy your great mission. We pray that your efforts may quicken the public conscience into demanding that the burdens this commercial age, in its greed for gain, has thoughtlessly placed upon the helpless childhood of the land, may be lifted from innocent shoulders.

"From you we learn that the child is the most precious product of the state; that the wisest economy for the state is the care and protection and culture of the child; that when the latent powers of the child are appealed to and called into play, when the hand, the head and the heart are trained for good and useful citizenship, then the child's possibilities for a better life broaden, become more real; that no method is surer of bringing a better to-morrow than by doing to-day the best thing possible for the neglected and the dependent child.

"We are a new community, comparatively speaking, settled in a locality the richest on earth in the elements for making iron and steel. Nature has lavished her wealth here in these mountains and valleys with a prodigal hand. You can stand upon a ledge of iron ore twenty-two feet thick, in the city

limits, and shoot with a Mauser rifle into the stone quarry of lime rock and into the coal mine—all of these elements, iron ore, lime rock, coal, comparatively inexhaustible, are here, all awaiting the skilled hand and the trained brain, to be made and molded and formed and fashioned into merchantable products.

"We have here representatives from almost all the races of men, from nearly every state in this republic, from nearly every nationality in Europe.

'From Greenland's icy mountains,
To India's coral strand,'

men with bold, brave spirits, full of energy and enterprise, all eager to accumulate a fortune.

"We deem your coming auspicious in that you will teach us not to sacrifice the child life of this community in a mad eagerness to coin wealth; that life—a well ordered life—is more valuable than material wealth; that the child is father to the man; that an educated, well-trained child gives us an honorable manhood and a splendid womanhood—a nation's most valuable asset, its greatest honor and glory.

"Teach us to avoid the history of Pittsburgh, as shown by the recent 'Survey,' where the strong, in their desire to get rich quickly, exploited the child for self-aggrandizement; where the exceedingly rich live in close proximity to the exceedingly poor, more or less indifferent to their own guilt and to the other's wretchedness. Save us from becoming a great commercial, industrial community where little or no care will be taken of the wear and tear of our human machinery and our helpless childhood.

"We have done much for a new community, to better child life. Our Mercer Home for orphans and our industrial school for white boys, an industrial school in process of erection for white girls, a boys' home, a rescue home, a home for the friendless, a young men's and a young women's christian association, two negro reformatories supported entirely by the negroes of the state, a kindergarten association and a tuberculosis farm, testify to this. A juvenile court bill now pending in the legislature is one of the best measures ever presented to any legislature in the country.

"Yet with all these charitable organizations, with all these philanthropic activities, our laws are now inadequate to protect the helpless child in the State of Alabama from the ignorant, drunken, brutal, or lazy parent, or from such oppressive and cruel employers as continue to exploit the child for personal profit.

"Our legislature is in session and, I think, keenly alive to the need of a better child labor law. Our governor is in sympathy with you along these humanitarian lines, and will approve the best child labor law that our legislature may enact.

"The time is propitious for getting in Alabama the best child labor law of any state in the Union. May this meeting and your discussions place Alabama foremost among the states of this republic in the conservation of her childhood."

Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay responded on behalf of the National Committee, of which he is Vice-Chairman:

"It is a great pleasure and privilege to respond on behalf of the trustees, officers and members of the National Child Labor Committee to so gracious a welcome from the city of Birmingham. If all of our 5,000 and more members could be present at this session, I am sure they would not be too numerous to do justice to the hospitality your city has so generously provided.

"Eight years ago there came to New York from Montgomery, Alabama, a young, vigorous, enthusiastic clergyman, Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, a noble leader of a noble cause. He represented your best citizens already organized into what was, I believe, the first definitely constituted state child labor committee in this country. The committee voiced the broad, generous, chivalrous spirit of the South, and asked our aid in the North for greater protection for the children of Alabama. Mr. Murphy's fight in his own state had shown him that the best interests of the children of Alabama were being jeopardized through the greedy demands for cheap labor on the part of the new cotton manufacturing industry of your state, demands supported by investing capitalists from the North and from many states. In all the older centers of cotton manufacture in England, in New England and in the middle states, the strong arm of the law had been invoked to protect defenceless childhood. Mr. Murphy, with true patriotic and statesmanlike vision had sounded a general alarm through the State of Alabama and had succeeded in arousing your representative citizens.

"In the years 1901 to 1903 this Alabama agitation spread to other southern states. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Arkansas, in addition to Alabama passed their first child labor laws in 1903. For the most part they were only feeble first attempts, and accomplished little more than the recognition of the right of the child in industry to the protection of the state. Then came the fear on the part of the representatives of industry that the coming prosperity of the South would be checked by legislative interference. You found also that strong opposition to your efforts to secure effective legislation came from non-resident capitalists, so that you and Mr. Murphy and his co-workers in those first legislative struggles in the South soon realized that a national movement must be organized before each state could really secure the enactment of effective remedies.

"This is the reason why the National Child Labor Committee was formed in New York in 1904 and it was in answer to this appeal from the South that a most remarkable group of distinguished American citizens, representing all sections of the country; both political parties; the Church, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish; institutions of learning; captains of industry, the labor unions, and social workers united as such diverse elements never had united before in the support of any single cause in the United States. With this history fresh in mind it is difficult to reconcile some recent misrepresentations of the work of the National Committee by its natural enemies, the exploiters of childhood, who have tried to make it appear that it stood for a sectional attack upon southern industry, when in reality it stands, a nation-wide response to a sectional call for help which came in the first instance from the South

but has been heard in every state in the Union. In reality, our first task was to resist the selfish opposition of northern capital invested in southern mills seeking to take advantage of the absence of the legal protection which already existed where that capital came from; protection which you wanted, naturally and properly, to establish for your children, where that capital was seeking profits. Whatever measure of success the agitation for higher standards in the first years of the National Committee's work achieved, its first definite result was to make it more difficult for New England capital to exploit the unprotected child laborer of the South.

"It is, perhaps, more significant to note the further development that took place. The more the need for child labor laws in the southern states was made known in other parts of the country, the more apparent became the inadequacy of existing child labor laws in other states.

"Reports at each of our seven annual meetings have shown greater activity and immeasurably greater gains in restrictive legislation in New England, Middle and Western states than in Southern states.

"We may well turn our attention at this meeting to the fact that the inequalities in the protection of working children of the whole country are probably greater to-day than when the National Committee began its work seven years ago; yet greater uniformity in state legislation is being urged with respect to railroads, to marriage and divorce laws, to employers' liability and workmen's compensation, to the control of the liquor traffic, and to many other subjects. Is it not our duty to seek for greater uniformity in the protection of working children, so that the children of all states may enjoy the same rights to a normal childhood, to life, education and leisure, to a time for play, a chance to grow and an opportunity to develop their best abilities whether they are raised in Alabama or Pennsylvania, in Georgia or Massachusetts, in Texas or Ohio? It is precisely to promote and secure this equality of opportunity for all American children that we are organized as a National Child Labor Committee.

"We are glad to meet for the first time in Alabama, to thank your citizens for their hospitable welcome, to acknowledge our indebtedness to you for the call that brought us into existence, to report to you on the progress that has been made and to outline here and now the still greater work that remains to be done. We invoke your best endeavors to renewed efforts in the completion of the good work that you have begun for the children of Alabama, in order that what you do here may be a model for others as well as a blessing to your own future citizens. We appeal to your missionary zeal and ask your fullest co-operation with the citizens of other states which we represent, in making the advantages you seek for your own children the heritage of the children of the entire nation."

The presiding officer, Dr. B. J. Baldwin,* of the Alabama Child Labor Committee, presented a "History of Child Labor Reform in Alabama."

Reports from the field on current legislation and conditions were presented from John Porter Hollis,* Special Agent; Dr. A. J. McKelway,*

*All addresses marked * appear in full elsewhere in this volume.

Secretary for the Southern States; E. N. Clopper,* Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, and Owen R. Lovejoy,* General Secretary of the National Committee.

SECOND SESSION.

Senator Joseph F. Johnston, presiding, emphasized the fact that the preservation of childhood is infinitely greater than the conservation of the forests for which Congress appropriated \$7,000,000 at its last session. Dr. A. J. McKelway's* address was on "The Cotton Mill: the Herod Among Industries"; Mrs. Florence Kelley* spoke on "What Should We Sacrifice to Uniformity?" and Owen R. Lovejoy* presented his annual report as secretary. A paper by U. S. Senator William E. Borah,* on "The State and the Nation in Child Labor Regulation," was read by title.

THIRD SESSION.

The special topic of the first section was devoted to "Child Labor in Streets and Public Places," with addresses by Maurice Willows,* Boys' Club, Birmingham; George A. Hall,* Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee; Richard K. Conant,* Secretary Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, and Edward N. Clopper.

In the discussion, Miss Jean M. Gordon, of New Orleans, deplored the fact that newsboys' homes afford young boys an opportunity to defy absolutely all parental control. Sometimes children of 9 and 10 years resist home influences and control because of the alternative of the newsboy home; especially if their own home conditions are not just what they want or if not allowed all the liberty they desire. A bed at the newsboy home is only ten cents a night and food bought at the public markets easily brings their expenses within their usually small earnings—35 to 50 cents a day. Mothers have urged her to make the child labor law apply to their children who insisted on going out to sell papers.

Judge N. B. Feagin, speaking from long experience in connection with the Children's Court, explained that by encouraging in the boy individual responsibility, individual initiative and individual effort, we cultivate the individualism which we look for in the man. The boy whose home is not well regulated, soon feels independent of it and strikes out in his own way. Our laws from time immemorial have given no child under 21 control of his property, because he has not arrived at the age of discretion and, therefore, has not the sound judgment, age and experience needed to transact binding business; and do not allow a judgment against a child under 21 by suit, because he is not held personally responsible. On account of his youth, the law holds a child under 7 not responsible for any criminal act, and a child

under 14 is *prima facie* incapable of committing crime. In contrast, by making a newsboy a tradesman, we make the inexperienced child an independent citizen. He loses not only financially but morally. Experience proves we must legislate the child off the street or regulate his work there. "I have heard mothers in this city say they had rather their children would be arrested than become merchants upon the street."

Mrs. Florence Kelley,* as a member of the New York Child Labor Committee since its foundation, also spoke for a scientific and rigid regulation of child labor in street trades.

With Judge Feagin presiding, the second section of the third session was devoted to "Poverty and Parental Dependence in Relation to Child Labor Reform." Miss Frances Ingram, Neighborhood House, Louisville, Ky., told of the effort of the Consumers' League of Louisville, begun in 1907, to secure a more effective child labor law. The law then in force contained the objectionable poverty clause and required no educational qualification or proof of age of children between 14 and 16. Abuse of these weak provisions was general. To prove the futility of this law, the League undertook an active campaign to study and reveal existing conditions. Factories were visited with the labor inspector. Permission from the County Judge to investigate all applications for labor permits of children, gave opportunity at the same time to influence parents where there was no real need of the child's work; advise with children tired of school; secure work for older members of the family, and shoes and clothing for children kept from school for lack of them, and medical attention where needed. Where the investigation of the Associated Charities also proved that the family was absolutely dependent on the earnings of the child, a scholarship approximating the amount the child could have earned if at work, was given on condition that the child attend school regularly and present each week a statement to that effect from the teacher and principal. Even though conducted during the financial depression of 1907, it was necessary to give only 23 scholarships out of 492 cases investigated. Both this experiment and an investigation of the truancy problem, conducted at the same time, emphasized that there were comparatively few cases where the child's wages stood between the family and suffering and these could be better cared for as they occurred than to have the poverty exemption continue to weaken the child labor law. The Kentucky Child Labor Association organized for the purpose in March, 1907, secured a very excellent new law without these objectionable features. The relief of children under 14 and their families has been assumed by the Associated Charities, while the Child Labor Association gives scholarships to children between 14 and 16 who are not able to meet the educational qualifications required by law before entering employment.

Miss Gordon reported that in 500 cases in Louisiana they found only five where it was really necessary to supply a scholarship. The fund was started with the membership subscriptions of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee (over \$300), supplemented by an appropriation secured later from the state. The total expenditure is eight to nine hundred dollars a year. About eight children are receiving scholarships at the present time, on the

weekly report of their school teachers. Miss Gordon thought it "astonishing how many incapable fathers and mothers could be developed under" such a fund, once its existence is known, and felt the knowledge should not be too widely spread.

The Chairman brought out that all needs were first discovered and cared for by private charity, while public charities must later come to the rescue. Miss M. Edith Campbell,* Cincinnati, addressed the meeting on "State Child Labor Relief." "The Dinner Toter" was the subject of the address of Charles L. Coon,* Secretary of the North Carolina Child Labor Committee.

FOURTH AND FIFTH SESSIONS.

In the public park at noon, Friday, Colonel Roosevelt addressed a large gathering on "Citizenship." A luncheon at the Hotel Hillman, given by the business men of Birmingham, marked the fifth session. Mayor Exum presiding, informal addresses were made by Colonel Roosevelt, Toastmaster James Weatherly, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ex-Governor B. B. Comer, and Dr. J. W. Stagg.

SIXTH SESSION.

A reception to the delegates and guests of the Conference was given at the Country Club by the Women's Clubs of Birmingham.

SEVENTH SESSION.

"Conservation of Childhood" was the subject of this session, with Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay presiding, in the absence of Governor Emmet O'Neal. Addresses were delivered by Colonel Roosevelt* on the same topic, Dean Herman Schneider* on "The Public School and the Day's Work," and Dr. William C. Hanson,* of the Massachusetts Bureau of Health, on "Exclusion of Children from Dangerous Trades."

"Types of Working Children" were displayed by means of the stereopticon, by Dr. A. J. McKelway.

EIGHTH SESSION.

At the first section meeting, devoted to "A Legislative Program for the South," Dr. McKelway, the presiding officer, said:

"I have come to feel that we do not have any distinctive legislative program for the South for the protection of the working children.

"We have had three southern conferences on child labor. The first met in Nashville, the second in New Orleans, and the third in Memphis; and a fourth is to be held in Atlanta in May. I think the idea prevalent in many minds when this Southern Congress was called together was that we had some peculiar reasons for a different standard of legislation in the South from what we had in the other parts of the Union. But when we got together and began to discuss the matter as a practical problem, we found that we needed the same standards and the best standards that had been put into effect in any other part of the Union.

"There is no reason in the world why Alabama should not be as humane as Massachusetts in the protection of children; why Georgia should not care as much for protecting her own flesh and blood as Illinois. In fact, if anything the argument is a little stronger that the South should be in advance in this great cause, for in the eastern and middle western states the problem of child labor is very largely a foreign problem, and the argument is frequently advanced that those people are so much better off in this country than they were in the Old World from which they came, their general condition is so much improved, that we can even afford to sacrifice the children for the gradual betterment of the family. But in the southern states, it is our native white children that we are mainly concerned with.

"When this Southern Child Labor Conference first met in Nashville, just as soon as the people interested in children put their heads together and began to consider what was the legislative program for the South, they adopted practically what had already been agreed upon as the legislative program for the northern and western states. And so I do not think that we have any peculiar problem. Perhaps the only thing distinctly southern about this child labor movement is that the problem with us has been a matter of the last few decades."

Reports on the work of the past year, from state and local committees, will be found elsewhere in this volume. Mr. C. L. Coon, reporting for the North Carolina Child Labor Committee of which he is secretary, told of the defeat of their bill to improve the present child labor law at the last session of the Legislature. A reduction of the hours of work for children, from 66 to 60 per week, was all the gain. The usual pose of the mill owners as philanthropists was again shown in this fight; they claimed that the bill to raise the age limit and prohibit children working at night, was a bill to promote idleness, and should be so entitled, instead of a bill to promote the welfare of children. He said that the most outlandish, scandalous lobby ever perpetrated on a legislature had been conducted by the mill interests. Four or five lawyers were kept there continually.

DR. MCKELWAY: "I think sometimes that when we only make it a little expensive for the opposition to resist a child labor law we have accomplished something. I have heard that the Pennsylvania glass manufacturers once complained that they had to contribute \$40,000 to a campaign fund in order to keep a child labor bill from being passed by the legislature. There is a similar complaint in North Carolina that we force the cotton

manufacturers to come up every two years to the legislature, at great expense, to defeat restrictions of the labor of children which they insist all the time is not profitable to them. However, I think we have made some gain in North Carolina. There were heretofore two states that allowed children to work more than sixty hours a week. Now there is one. I do not believe Georgia will allow herself to occupy the bad eminence of being the only state that allows her children to work more than sixty hours a week in factories."

"Uniform Child Labor Laws," the subject of the second section, was discussed by Hon. A. T. Stovall,* Miss Jean M. Gordon, and others.

Miss Gordon said: "The most important need for uniformity, as I see it, is with regard to factory inspection. No matter how beautifully your law is worded, or if you have a 16 year age limit and prohibition from dangerous trades, if you do not have someone to enforce the law, it is not worth the paper on which it is written. We must also raise the standard of our factory inspectors, and persons in similar positions. We have too long looked upon this work as suitable for people of no special training. I am particularly anxious to have our younger women, especially our college graduates, apply to such work the splendid opportunities afforded them during their college courses. Women of financial independence—to whom the salary would not need to be the attraction—and those who can associate with the friends of the families of the average manufacturer, would have a powerful influence. One of the most important points in my factory inspection work in New Orleans, was the first realization of manufacturers that they were not fair to their employees, which I conveyed to them indirectly through their wives and friends."

Lewis W. Hine, Staff Photographer of the National Committee, gave an address on "Child Labor in Gulf Coast Canneries,"* the results of an investigation just completed, and propounded the query, "What is it that makes the child work in the factory when he will not work at school?" The suggestion was made that the school teachers should be able to draw the children and hold them even in the communities where there is no compulsory education law.

Miss Gordon urged "it does not matter what the law is if it is not enforced. In a mill near Mobile, Ala., I saw plenty of little children at work, and the superintendent, who acted as guide, said that if the law was applied to them they would break it because it is unconstitutional in applying only to certain industries. It is a species of false pride to get these laws and make no provision for enforcing them. The 12 year age limit and other laws might just as well not be on the statute books, if not enforced."

CHAIRMAN MCKELWAY: "I suppose that all legislative process is slow. We cannot write an ideal law upon any statute book. An ideal that we have now would not be ideal to the conscience of the next generation. Progress

in this reform in the southern states has been very much like that in New England and the other states of the Union. We put the principle upon the statute books, first, and that is about all we can do. It would have been impossible to pass a child labor law in Georgia up to this time providing for factory inspection, but after the principle is adopted the next step is the enforcement of the law.

"I had a command laid upon me by Miss Lillian D. Wald, of New York. She wanted something said about the Federal Children's Bureau Bill which failed in the last Congress.

"The bill was introduced six years ago. We understand that the process here also is slow. In the Fifty-ninth Congress it was not even reported from the committee of either house. In the Sixtieth Congress, the committees of both houses reported in favor of the bill, but the bill did not come to a vote. In the last Congress, the Sixty-first, it was reported unanimously by both committees, and it passed the Senate unanimously in the closing weeks of the session. I think that we would have secured a two-thirds or three-fourths vote in favor of the bill in the House; but in the last two weeks of the session, the rule was adopted putting Speaker Cannon back into his old place of absolute power. No man on the floor could be recognized to bring up any bill to which the speaker had not consented in advance. And the speaker would not consent to bring up the Children's Bureau bill. He gave various reasons for this, the last being that it was too important a measure to be passed with 40 minutes' discussion. He was unwilling to take the responsibility of allowing the House to vote for this tremendous appropriation of \$25,000.

"Well, I happened to sit in the galleries of the House during the last two weeks and saw appropriation bills passed at the rate of a million dollars a minute, a great many of them being barely read. They were the work of a little group of men, a sub-committee of the appropriations committee, and some of them passed with less than 40 minutes' discussion.

"During the last week of the session, the chairman of the committee on printing arose and was recognized for a particular purpose. That purpose was to get 100,000 copies of the "Horse Book" printed for members of Congress, to send to their constituents,—60,000 for the House and 40,000 for the Senate. It is a very large book; I presume it must cost 25 to 50 cents a copy. It treats of the diseases of the horse. That resolution went through without objection, was unanimously passed with applause, because the book is very popular and the farmers want it.

"Now, it seems to me that if the government of the United States has any business sending out free to the people of the country a book on the diseases of the horse, it would have the same right to send out bulletins concerning the diseases of children; and the diseases of children are one of the subjects to be investigated by this proposed children's bureau.

"We have not given up the fight. The bill will be introduced immediately upon the opening of the extra session of Congress, whether it can be considered then or not. We shall press it through to a conclusion. Since it passed the Senate this year, it can probably pass the next Senate with more ease as a matter of precedent. And then we hope to get it through the House and approved by the President."

NINTH SESSION.

"Child Labor on the Stage" was the topic of this session, and in introducing the first speaker, the presiding officer, Mr. Solomon Wolff, Chairman of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee, recited the story of Carthage of old, when, besieged by barbarians, it was about to surrender and yield to the rapine incident to conquest in those days. The priests, consulted, said, "If you would sacrifice a single child upon the altars to the gods you would save the city from rapine and its population from slaughter." "If the Carthaginians were really under the belief and the impression that the sacrifice of a single child would save the entire city from destruction," he continued, "were they more or less cruel than we when we are constantly sacrificing the lives of hundreds of young children upon the altar of commercialism?"

Addresses were delivered by Miss Jean M. Gordon*, Miss Jane Addams*, Mrs. Florence Kelley* and Henry Baird Favill,* M.D.

Owen R. Lovejoy said informally:

"The National Child Labor Committee has not been very eager in its efforts against this phase of the problem, not because we were in doubt as to the wisdom of sending little children upon the stage, but because it seemed to us that there were other classes of working children in so much greater, immediate need of our services. But recently the activity of those who are systematically promoting the employment of children on the stage, seems so aggressive, that it remains for us to defend the rights of the children who may be exploited on the stage, as we would defend the rights of any other child who might be exploited in any other kind of labor.

"So far as I can understand the arguments presented for the employment of the child on the stage, there are only three. One is that the public likes to see little children on the stage; and I have the conviction that if the public believes that the child is being injured, wronged, sacrificed, deprived of the normal opportunities of childhood, the public will be willing to forego that pleasure.

"The second is that the stage business cannot succeed without the employment of the little child; and even those who are promoting this campaign for the employment of child labor on the stage, acknowledge that they do not care to have the campaign based on that argument, because they say, 'As other industries have been able to succeed after children have been excluded, so our industry, should children be excluded, must succeed, although it will be at considerable sacrifice.' The answer to those who claim that the theatrical profession depends for its success upon the labor of the little child is that the theatrical profession must take its place with all other kinds of business that have no right to succeed, and in the interest of the child must be allowed to fail. And none of us, I am sure, have the least idea that the theatrical profession will fail because of the exclusion of the little child.

"The third reason given is that if children are excluded from the stage, it will rob them of the opportunity to develop genius. I am not going to

attempt to answer that statement, but will refer to a statement recently made by Mr. Francis Wilson, in one of his magazine articles, contending against those he is pleased to call 'puritanical agitators.' He said that Ellen Terry recently stated that Sir Henry Irving had often explained that his limitations in dramatic art were largely due to the fact that he was robbed of the opportunity of becoming trained to the art in infancy. And it seems to me the only reply is the reply that Abraham Lincoln made when some envious army officers came to him and complained that General Grant was a drunkard. We could wish that more actors on the stage to-day might be crippled by the same kind of limitation that ruined Sir Henry Irving!"

At the close of the session, Dr. H. A. Elkourie, in an eloquent address, on behalf of the Young Greeks' Progressive Society of Birmingham, presented Miss Addams with a loving cup as a "token of everlasting respect and profound gratitude to the one who has endeared herself to everyone regardless of nationality or creed; because in her we recognize a typification of the true American womanhood that has no limitation, that surpasses all bounds, and that stops at no racial boundary in doing good for everybody regardless of nationality or creed." A little girl, introduced as an "innocent child of Grecian extraction," presented Miss Addams with a bunch of roses, in token of her work for the children.

TENTH SESSION.

The annual address of Dr. Felix Adler,* Chairman of the National Committee on "Child Labor a Menace to Civilization," and of Jane Addams* on "Ten Years' Experience in Illinois," made notable the closing session of the Conference, with Superintendent J. H. Phillips, of the Birmingham public schools, presiding. Selections from old negro melodies, by a chorus from the Negro Industrial High School of Birmingham, under the direction of Prof. Arthur H. Parker, were beautifully rendered before and after the addresses.

The following resolutions were read by Dr. McKelway:

Resolved, That the grateful thanks of the National Child Labor Committee, its members and friends, are tendered to the people of the city of Birmingham, for the hospitality lavished upon the guests of the city, and for the sympathy in the cause of child labor reform that has made this Seventh Annual Conference the most successful in our history;

"To the Alabama Child Labor Committee, to the Chamber of Commerce of the City, and other civic bodies of Birmingham, the women's clubs, the local organizations, and especially the local committee, for the admirable arrangements for the comfort of speakers and audiences. They have organized success as Carnot organized victory.

"That our thanks are also due to the churches of the city that have

opened their pulpits to the members of the Conference for the further advancement of our cause; and also and particularly to the newspapers of the city for their careful, accurate, and voluminous reports of the addresses delivered, which have carried those words to thousands who have not heard them."

The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"WHEREAS, a bill is now pending in the legislature of Alabama making an amendment to the present child labor law as recommended by the governor, which brings that law nearer to the standard child labor statute,

"Resolved, that this Conference does hereby petition the legislature of Alabama to enact this bill into law that this state may again take its former position of leadership in the cause of child labor reform."

In moving the adoption of the Resolutions, Dr. McKelway said: "The National Child Labor Committee considers the Alabama Child Labor Committee as its mother. It was organized first, and its organizer, Edgar Gardner Murphy, was one of the moving spirits in the organization of the National Child Labor Committee.

"Will you bear with me for a word of personal reminiscence? I was an editor living in North Carolina and had thought very little about the child labor cause. I had seen the children working in the factories, and had taken it as a matter of course. We had read about the evils of child labor in England, had heard of them in New England and New Jersey; but hardly thought that these evils existed at all in the South. It was the agitation in Alabama, fostered by Mr. Murphy, that interested me first in the cause and that put before my mind the idea that something practical could be done for the elimination of child labor from industry. And I was one of those who were brought to see this matter in a new light through the pamphlets, circulars and newspaper clippings sent out by the Alabama Committee of which Mr. Murphy was secretary.

"Alabama was one among several southern States that as the result of this agitation, passed its first child labor bill in 1903. It amended that law in the right direction in 1907. We understand that the present legislature is somewhat congested with business, that only a few days remain of the regular session, and that perhaps an extra session will not be called. The bill is before the committees of the house and senate now. If this bill is adopted, Alabama will take her old stand of leadership in child labor reform in the South. Other States have gone beyond her. Some have legislative sessions every year, some every two years; Alabama, alone I believe, every four years; so this is the critical time and this is our opportunity.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by rising vote, and the conference adjourned *sine die*.

The pulpits of many Birmingham churches were occupied on Sunday, the closing day of the Conference, by prominent speakers and delegates.

Residents of Birmingham, active in coöperating for the success of the meeting, were:

Local Committee.—John L. Kaul, *Chairman*; Maurice Willows, *Secretary*.

Finance Committee.—Robert Jemison, Jr., *Chairman*; A. H. Ford, John L. Parker, George Gordon Crawford, B. Gilreath.

Press and Publicity.—Maurice Willows, *Chairman*; W. M. McGrath, Rabbi M. Newfield, Rev. George Eaves, Mrs. C. P. Orr, Mrs. J. H. Phillips.

Places of Meeting.—Hon. C. Exum, *Chairman*; W. M. McGrath, N. B. Feagin, Rev. George Eaves.

Entertainment.—A. H. Ford, *Chairman*; John L. Kaul, Hon. C. Exum, John L. Parker, E. K. Campbell, W. I. Grubb, James Bowron, N. B. Feagin, Dr. T. D. Parke, Dr. W. G. Harrison, Hon. George Bondurant, Dr. George S. Brown, George G. Crawford, Rev. George Eaves, Dr. Morris Newfield.

Woman's Committee.—Mrs. J. H. Phillips, Mrs. C. P. Orr, Mrs. W. S. Lovell, Mrs. C. B. Spencer, Mrs. J. D. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Joseph McLester, Mrs. Sam. Adler, Mrs. W. L. Murdoch.

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, *Chairman*; Fred S. Ball, Montgomery, *Secretary*; Rev. E. E. Cobbs, Montgomery; John Craft, Mobile; Erwin Craighead, Mobile; Judge N. B. Feagin, Birmingham; Judge J. B. Gaston, Montgomery; Frank P. Glass, Montgomery; Thomas G. Jones, Montgomery; S. B. Marks, Jr., Montgomery; Edgar Gardner Murphy, Montgomery; Dr. J. H. Phillips, Birmingham; Hon. Joseph E. Rich, Mobile; Rev. J. W. Stagg, Anniston; Judge W. H. Thomas, Montgomery.

An exhibit of photographs, charts and tables illustrating child labor in various industries throughout the country was open to the public during the conference, at the Orpheum, where the sessions were held.